586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461] 1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
● 844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

784 A crowned crane that perches at the top of a hut, or a dog, goat, or sheep that manages to climb upon it, are sure signs of approaching misfortunes.

It is rigorously forbidden to kill a crowned crane, crow, wagtail, lizard, frog, or toad.

The parents of a newly married man may not partake of his meals unless they first cook a bunch of bananas in his house. Scurvy is the punishment for this transgression.

[841] A woman who has just given birth to a child must see to it that the umbilical cord of the newborn is not lost. If there is food in the hut at the moment of childbirth, the mother may not touch it. If she broke this taboo she would contract a disease (guhumana).

The father of a baby whose teeth have not yet come out may not take a new wife without exposing the child to the danger of contracting the acute scurfy disease (amahumane).

[593] If a child wishes to sit in a chair just vacated by his father, he must first place there a little straw. If he were to act otherwise, he would risk his father's curse.

Children are not permitted to lean against the post which is reserved for the family head. This, too, is done for reasons of propriety.

The owner of a calf whose hooves have only one toe as the result of a congenital deformity may not butcher it except at his own home. The meat of the animal may not be eaten elsewhere. It must be eaten on the spot with the sorghum bread brought by each guest. At the end of the meal, the guests wash their hands in the courtyard and not outside of it.

A goat that sits...on its behind must be butchered /414/ or sold immediately, so that evil will not befall the occupants of the hut.

A hunter of "felì-cervaline /?/" (tiger cats) must be careful careful not to make too many victims among those carnivores so as not to risk unfortunate consequences. A peasant threshing beans in the pod must see to it that no one steps on the threshing floor while he is working.

He would experience the surprise of seeing his provision of beans diminish if a passer-by were to stop suddenly before him.

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[432] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

192 Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
233 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
431 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
● 844 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

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to the young mother who has suffered the pains of childbirth (umuruho w' umubyeyi). Her parents compensate her in this fashion for her troubles and sufferings.

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, "to give unconditionally") serves to designate a cow given unconditionally, as opposed to inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo means "the cow of entry (into the new household)," because the bride receives it as a gift from her parents-in-law when she enters her new home for the first time.

Inka y'indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, "to pay an accession gift to a new chief") designates the cow given to a chief at the time of his accession to office.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, "to pay a debt of gratitude") designates the cow given in acknowledgement of a kindness.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, "to offer a gift") serves to designate a cow which subjects must give to chiefs by way of a tax.

Inka y' intundano means "trade cow." The verb gutunda means "to trade" or "to purchase through an exchange of goods," hence the expression "trade cow."

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, "to reward") designates /508/ a cow given as a reward for a favor done.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, "to steal"), a stolen cow.

Inka y' ibihembo, "a cow given in payment as salary," for example, to pay for two years of consecutive work.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, "to deceive"), a cow obtained through trickery.

Inka y' umuheto ("bow"), a cow obtained by force.

Inka y' isaso ("bullet") is the generic name for the cows of the Europeans, who have taken over the land.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, "to create"), cows given by the king or by a great chief to someone they wish to honor or to raise above other men by providing him with a herd that will make him safe from want.

518 851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day, it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother 846 sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of 431 the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for ex- 852 ample, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

852 In Kissaka the guests kneel in honor of the father. He accepts the honors standing, holding a wooden spear (muko) in his hand and with a sword (ngota) behind his back. He calls upon Binego and Mugasha and expresses his gratitude for the honor by spitting nzoga (banana beer) upon the visitors. If the newborn child is a boy, the father puts a small spear, a small bow, a nail upon which to hang the bow, and a small shield woven of grass into his hand. When he gives the bow to the child, the father spits and says: "akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune (if he breaks the bow, may he not break it again)." When he presents the spear, he says: "arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he is attacked in ambush, may it not happen again)." When the shield is presented: "kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he should fall upon his shield, may he [229] not fall again)." Finally, turning to the nail on which the bow is to be hung, he says: "arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune (if the nail breaks, may it no longer do so later)."

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.